693 whole reason, because there was a great deal in what he had said. In the early days certainly, there was a tendency for some of the less scrupulous legal practitioners not to attempt too seriously to dissuade their clients from going to court when they had no case.

Mackawwi now turned to the Protectorate, and said:

"You have not seen the Protectorate yet?"

"No," I replied.

"They are ignorant and poor people and something should be done for them," he said.

"What should be done?" I inquired. It was a question I was often to ask him and sometimes he did give me an answer, but more often than not the reply came,

"I do not know, but something should be done, something should be done before it is too late."

At this point the bell rang from the Resident's room and Mackawwi, unfolding his legs—he had been sitting with one thrown over the other—rose to his feet and with a particularly charming smile shook hands, and drifted through the door and away as if carried by the light breeze that blew that morning from the sea.

648 668 From the time that Aden was first acquired by us it formed part of the Bombay Presidency, but by 1932 political developments in India had reached a stage which made a break with Bombay inevitable. The Resident had been consulted, and it had been made clear to the authorities in India and London that the Arabs, who formed the majority of the population of the Settlement, would react most unfavourably to any suggestion that Aden should continue to be under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Government once provincial autonomy had become a fact in India. We took the view in Aden at that time that it would not be practicable for Aden to continue under control which had passed into the hands of the Indians themselves. Aden was not an Indian Colony, and over the years the Arabs had learnt one thing very clearly and that was not to expect generous treatment from India.

648 563 668 To understand the attitude of the Arabs to other races it must be realised that they consider themselves and always have,

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as superior to all people of colour and as equal in every way with ourselves and the Americans. The other European races fall, in their view, into a category somewhere between the Eastern and African races and the British, and it was therefore unthinkable that once the Aden Arabs had understood the implications of our policy in India that they would submit tamely to Indian domination. As Mackawwi said, they had been asleep for years, but now were beginning to stir and show signs of awakening.

In the spring of 1932, as Second Assistant Resident, I signed the Government Notice informing the public that Aden had been created a Chief Commissioner's Province under the direct control of the Government of India and was therefore no longer subordinate to the Government of Bombay. The issue of this very important Notice, which was in fact the first step on the road to internal self-government (though no-one recognised it as such at that time) caused little comment in Aden, except among the Parsees who viewed the transfer with disfavour. They had friends and relatives in Bombay and hoped that with the coming of Provincial autonomy to that Province they would have been able to play an even greater part in Aden affairs in the future than they had done in the past.

The practical effect of the change was that instead of the Bombay Government making kind noises when some proposal for the improvement of the lot of the people of Aden was submitted to them and passing it on to the Government of India, with the strongest recommendations and a clear indication that they could not make the necessary finance available, the Government of India just said "No" at once. The result was precisely the same although indeed speedier and had the advantage that no false hopes were encouraged in the inexperienced.

The continued lack of sympathy on the part of the Government of India during the years following the transfer from Bombay could have but one result and that was to make the Arabs resent more and more the link between Aden and India. It had become a fetter to be shaken off as soon as possible. Mackawwi, and those who thought as he did, began to take

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668 more interest in political matters and their numbers began to increase rapidly. The advent of Provincial autonomy in India only added fuel to the fire of discontent and the thought that one day the Central Government in Delhi might follow, almost certainly would follow, the example of the Bombay and other Provincial Governments and that British officials in Aden might be replaced by Indians was intolerable. The Arabs became seriously alarmed and even the Hadhrami merchants paused in the counting of their profits to survey the scene. They did not like what they saw and they joined forces with Mackawwi and his friends who led a deputation to the Resident. The deputation asked that the Settlement of Aden should be treated in the same way as the Protectorate, which had been transferred to the control of the Colonial Office in London in 1928, and that in future they should come under the direct authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. They did not wait upon the Resident in any servile spirit, they came as the leaders of the people, and they came armed with their conditions. Aden was to remain a free port, no new taxation was to be imposed unless local circumstances made it essential and the judicial appeals were to continue to the High Court of Bombay.

The views of the Arabs were transmitted to London and New Delhi. Meanwhile the Arabs held meetings and the Parsees led the opposition and in turn held meetings. The meetings organised by the Parsees were well attended by the Arabs attracted, so uncharitable people said, by the refreshment that was provided by these well-to-do gentlemen.

As is customary when something is referred to London, nothing very much happened for some time, and the Arabs made the next move which took the form of a written memorandum embodying their views and their requests and the guarantees for which they had asked. This in turn was sent to London and New Delhi, and in consequence further negotiations followed which, from the Arab point of view, were
642 successful. Their request was granted and their conditions were
648 accepted and, in 1937, on April 1st, the Settlement of Aden became a Crown Colony under the direct control of the

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204 of affairs; it was a spectacle, it was "news", and what was no
208 less attractive a social occasion of the first magnitude. The élite of Aden society were there and the editors were not left out, but when the tumult had died down and the multitude departed, the editors, who were often their own reporters, were found to have gone as well.

619 It must not be imagined that real feeling about the political
[665] future of the Colony was non-existent. There were many people who were, in fact, seriously concerned, and a number of individuals looked forward to the time when they would be able to have a greater share in the control of their own affairs, but at that time there was nothing in the nature of a "party", as we understand the term in this country, inspired with nationalist ideas in any section of the community.

177 The Arab awakening was being accelerated by the rapid
• 668 educational developments in the Colony and by the radio; the
[204] first a good influence, the second poisonous to young minds
[208] with its half-truths, anti-British propaganda and reports of riots and students' demonstrations, which were such a feature of those years. The first phase of this awakening was the realisation that with few exceptions the worthwhile work in the Colony was in the hands of foreigners to Aden, and the younger generation began to wonder and to ask why strangers had the cream of the employment while they had to make do
464 with what was left. Mercifully the trade expansion after the war was creating fresh employment daily and there was work for every employable lad on leaving school, and I regret to say, very often before he should have left school. The murmuring did not go unheeded by the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council and we warned Government that there would be trouble unless the rights of local men and women to priority in employment, provided they were capable of doing the work, were recognised both by Government and by the employers. The warning was heeded by Government, but not by some of the "foreign" employers who claimed, not without reason, that the local article was not up to the standard of the imported. These employers continued to take advantage of a surplus of semi-skilled workers in India, which had been

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648 induced by political developments in other Colonies and to some extent the disagreeable radio broadcasts from Egypt. A firm line was clearly necessary and it was time that a statement of policy should be made so that everyone knew precisely where he stood. This was done by Lord Lloyd, the then Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. He came out to Aden and British Somaliland on an official tour and, at my invitation, he addressed the Legislative Council, and in effect said that there was not going to be any change during the life of the present Council, that is, before the end of 1958, and that it would not be reasonable or sensible, or in the interests of the inhabitants of the Colony, for them to aspire in the foreseeable future to anything beyond a considerable degree of self-government. The clamour died down gradually and the majority of the Colony papers began to have a much more sensible approach to the political future of the Colony.

• 668 Lord Lloyd's visit was not without incident and was made the occasion for a political demonstration. On the afternoon of his arrival a number of members of the political extremist Party, the National United Front, whose political platform was full self-government tomorrow or even sooner, had collected at the Airport with the intention of demonstrating. They were persons of no consequence and in a number of cases of dubious character. Some of them carried walking sticks and others had banners on which were written nationalistic slogans. They had arrived just before I did, and the Commissioner of Police asked me whether he should disperse them. There was no doubt about his ability to do so if I had considered it desirable, but my answer was that they could remain provided they did not transgress the law in any way. The 'plane bringing Lord Lloyd had just touched down, and after this short conversation with the Commissioner, I walked across the tarmac to meet him and asked him whether he would prefer to avoid the unofficial reception committee by driving out through the Royal Air Force entrance to the landing ground some half mile or so down the runway. He asked me what I thought. I said I did not see why we should be put off by these ragamuffins. He was in complete agreement. We departed through a crowd

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of some two hundred who shouted and waved a few banners. In the middle of the performance we were held up by a car coming in the opposite direction. There was some pressure of bodies round my car for a moment or two, but no assault took place and no stones were thrown. The whole incident was grossly exaggerated in the British Press.

One casualty did occur. A rather unpopular Arab gentleman who was a member of the Staff of the Public Relations Office was foolish enough to stop his car and remonstrate with the crowd. He was hit on the head, which was not in the least surprising. He should have taken Mr. Pickwick's sensible advice when he found himself in a crowd at the Eatanswill election:

"Hush. Don't ask any questions. It's always best on these occasions to do what the mob do," said Mr. Pickwick.

"But suppose there are two mobs?" suggested Mr. Snodgrass.

"Shout with the largest," replied Mr. Pickwick.

The injury was not serious and the sufferer was able to appear with no apparent blemish at my cocktail party in honour of Lord Lloyd at Government House the same evening.

On the way to Government House from the Airport, Lord Lloyd said:

"This is my first experience of this sort of thing."

"It's mine as well," was my answer.

I was much distressed at this incident for it was such bad manners to a guest and I hoped he would not think it was in any way representative of public opinion in the Colony.

A couple of weeks or so later when he returned from Somaliland *en route* for London, he said:

"I am glad to be back here, it's like coming home."

I was deeply gratified, for I have a fondness for Aden and was glad that no unfavourable opinion had been formed, as it might well have been after the incivility on his first arrival.

Lord Lloyd's final departure was a very tame affair. There were no crowds, no-one at all, except for a selection of reporters on the roof of the Airport building waiting for something to happen. They were disappointed, but again there was a grievous departure from the truth when Reuters and the B.B.C. reported a recurrence of the arrival incidents. In fairness I must

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record that the correspondent whom Reuters had sent to Aden was in no way to blame and was most upset at what one can only assume was a mistake in transmission of his telegraphic reports from Aden.

Change and the speed of that change was bound to create in some people a sense of instability. You cannot bridge the centuries in a few years without some loss of balance, and the wonder is that people kept their heads as well as they did and not that a few were carried away and on one occasion were rude and ill-mannered to a distinguished guest.

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579 political party, as such, in the Colony had any hand in these outrages which, if continued, will have disastrous consequences for every single individual in Aden.

646 In the legislative field there have been two important
668 developments since I left Aden. The first of these has been in the Municipal Committee where, at the recent elections, the electorate returned fourteen elected Members to the Committee. Of these seven are so-called Nationalists, which would seem to be a clear indication that Nationalism is spreading and gaining ground rapidly. This may be correct, but on the other hand I have found in Aden and elsewhere in the world that extremists do not always remain extreme once they have obtained their object which in this case was membership of the Municipal Committee. There are signs that already something of the sort is happening, and provided that the situation is handled firmly but with understanding, there would not seem to be cause for alarm. The moderates are, by and large, rational people and on them must rest the responsibility for restraining their less experienced associates. Let them take their own line in the future as they have in the past and not allow themselves to be influenced unduly by public opinion.

642 The second and more important development is the fulfil-
646 ment of the undertaking given by Lord Lloyd in 1956. The
178 proposals for a major change in the Constitution were published on November 11th, 1957, as a Gazette Extraordinary. The proposals provide for a fundamental change in the structures of both the Executive and Legislative Councils. The precise date of implementation has not yet been published, but it would be safe to assume that provided there is no startling and unexpected reaction to the proposals, they will come into effect at the end of this year when the life of the present Legislative Council is due to expire. The reconstruction of the Legislative Council will result in the Unofficial elected Members of the Council having a majority for the first time. There are to be twelve such elected members representing single member constituencies in the Colony, five *ex-officio* members who will be the Air Officer Commanding, the Chief Secretary,